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A FURTHER ACCOUNT . . .

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THE well laid plans of enterprising founders of colonies in 17th century America were quickly reduced to confusion. And even the peaceable members of the Society of Friends, dedicated though they were to other-worldliness, were not immune to the contentions produced by sordid motivations and personal desires for self-aggrandizement. There are at least two historical understandings that can be derived from an extremely rare and important pamphlet that was added recently to the Rutgers University Library's large and growing collection of New Jerseyana.

Visually unimpressive, the slim, crudely printed tract is deservedly esteemed as the first separate description of West New Jersey in English.¹ Titled *A Further Account of New Jersey, in an Abstract of Letters Lately Writ From Thence*, it was published in London in 1676.² The only other known copies are in the British Museum; the

¹ The most convenient discussion of early publications related to New Jersey is Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Weiss, *The Early Promotional Literature of New Jersey* (Trenton, New Jersey, 1964). Of some two dozen broadsides and pamphlets that were published before 1700 relating to New Jersey, the Rutgers University Library now possesses seven, including, in addition to the *Further Account, An Abstract, or Abbreviation of Some Few of the . . . Testimonys from the Inhabitants of New-Jersey* (London, 1681); *A Brief Account of the Province of East-Jersey* (London, 1682); *A Brief Account of the Province of East-New-Jersey* (Edinburgh, 1683); Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established* (Philadelphia, 1685); George Scot, *The Model of Government of . . . East-New-Jersey* (Edinburgh, 1685); and Gabriel Thomas, *An historical and geographical account of . . . Pensilvania; and of West-New-Jersey* (London, 1689).

² *A Further Account of New Jersey, In an Abstract of Letters Lately Writ from thence, By several Inhabitants there Resident*. [Printer's device.] 18.5 cm. Collation: [A]—B⁴; leaf of title, verso blank, 13 pp. There is a textual correction in ink on page 6. The Rutgers copy differs from others that have been examined in that the catchword "Dear" is omitted on page 11. For additional details see *The Celebrated Collection of Americana formed by the late Thomas Winthrop Streeter. . .*, VII (New York, 1969), 2933.

A
FURTHER ACCOUNT
OF
New JERSEY.

In an Abstract of
LETTERS
Lately Writ from thence,
By several Inhabitants there Resident.



Printed in the Year 1676.

To: John
D.A.

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To: John
D.A.

Friends' Library, London; the Henry E. Huntington Library; the New York Public Library; and the John Carter Brown Library.³ The Rutgers copy was acquired in October, 1969, through John Fleming at the sale of the distinguished library of Thomas W. Streeter of Morristown.

Special interest attaches to the Rutgers copy because of a notation on the reverse side of the last page that identifies the printer and the original owner of the item, as well as its price. It reads: "John Bellers his booke bought of Benj. Clarke ye 15/9m [November] 1676 cost 1 p [enny]." On the title page, presumably in Clarke's hand, is the inscription "To John Bellers." Clarke, a London printer and bookseller was at the time one of two authorized publishers for the Society of Friends.⁴ John Bellers (1654-1725) was a prominent Quaker, a friend of William Penn, philanthropist, and author of numerous religious and philosophical tracts. Through his father-in-law, Giles Fettiplace, he acquired very substantial landed interest in New Jersey, which remained in the family till 1816.⁵

The circumstances behind the publication of the pamphlet are marvelously confusing and require some elucidation if the significance of the item is to be fully appreciated.⁶ New Jersey in 1664 had been granted by James, Duke of York, to two courtiers, Sir George Carteret and John, Lord Berkeley. In March, 1674, Berkeley sold his half-interest to Major John Fenwick. Although the details of this transaction remain obscure, it is probable that Fenwick was in some manner acting as an agent for Edward Byllynge, a Quaker brewer who was a close friend of Berkeley's. The presumption is that Byllynge could not himself appear as the purchaser because he was in bankruptcy. In any case, it seems to have been understood among

A facsimile of the *Further Account* was published in London in a limited edition of fifty copies by A. A. Burt for Brinton Coxe in 1878.

³ The existence of copies in the British Museum, the Huntington, the New York Public, and the John Carter Brown Libraries were verified by correspondence. The authority for the Friends' Library copy is Wing's *Short Title Catalogue*.

⁴ Henry R. Plomer, *et al.*, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1688 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), 71.

⁵ There is a brief sketch of Bellers in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Information on his New Jersey landholdings is from *The Shiffner Archives: A Catalogue*, edited by Francis W. Steer (Lewes, England, 1959) and the microfilm of the Shiffner papers in the Rutgers University Library.

⁶ The best general account of the origins of Fenwick's colony is John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702* (Princeton, 1956), ch. V. Many of the essential source materials can be found in Frank H. Stewart, *Major John Fenwick . . .* (Woodbury, New Jersey, 1939).

the Friends that Byllynge was the real purchaser and that his half of New Jersey would become a haven for persecuted Friends, the first Quaker colony in America.

Almost at once there were disagreements between Fenwick and Byllynge over the transaction, but these were seemingly resolved when, through the arbitration of Penn, Fenwick was awarded one-tenth of the area, together with a financial settlement. The remaining nine-tenths, because of Byllynge's insolvency, was vested in three trustees, Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas. With this matter apparently adjusted, the trustees began to make careful plans for the orderly settlement of the colony. They negotiated with Sir George Carteret, and in July, 1676, agreed that the boundary between his lands and theirs should run from Little Egg Harbor to the northwest corner of the colony on the Delaware River. They had less success in inducing the Duke of York to confirm the sale by Berkeley to Fenwick, with the result that the title of the Quakers to the region remain clouded until 1683.

Although the three trustees intended that their colony of West Jersey, as it was to be known, would be settled under their prudent direction, Fenwick had other plans. A former Cromwellian soldier, he was obviously a man of stubborn disposition, self-willed and independent. Having reluctantly agreed to accept one-tenth of West Jersey, he was determined to plant his own colony there, regardless of Byllynge and the trustees. Accordingly, between March and July, 1675, he entered into agreements with prospective emigrants, offering them land at £5 per thousand acres, and agreeing that under his direction as "Chief Proprietor" the settlers would enjoy a high degree of self-government.

The details of his scheme were most alluringly set forth in a broadside that he issued on March 8, 1675.⁷ "These are to satisfie you," the promotional piece began, "or any other who are sober, and are anywise minded to go along with me, and plant within my COLONY; that we shall no doubt find, but that NEW CESAREA or NEW JERSEY, which is the place that I did purchase: together with the Government thereof, is a healthy, pleasant, and plentiful country. . ." William Penn and other "weighty Friends" sought to

⁷ The broadside contained Fenwick's promotional appeal, together with a brief "Description of a happy Country" taken from John Ogilby's *America*. See "Fenwick's proposal for Planting his Colony of New Caesarea or New Jersey," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VI (1882), 86-90.

dissuade Fenwick from launching his own venture in colonization, but the headstrong Major could not be restrained.

Despite the contrary omens, about fifty men decided to cast their lot with Fenwick and journey with him to West Jersey, most of them accompanied by their families. But shortly before the expedition sailed, in July, 1675, Fenwick placed his whole enterprise further in jeopardy. Heavily in debt and short of cash, he mortgaged his holdings to John Eldridge and Edmund Warner. Again, the agreement was complicated, but it virtually conveyed title to the two creditors, who actually took possession of Fenwick's deed.⁸ With his title to the land of his projected colony subject to many doubts, and in the face of the opposition of the main body of Friends, Fenwick was doomed to experience every conceivable frustration as he sought to realize his ambition to become the Chief Proprietor of what he styled "Fenwick's Colony."

No doubt worried, but yet undaunted, Fenwick embarked in July, 1675, on the ship *Griffin* with his company and arrived in the Delaware in November.⁹ Two of his associates had preceded him, and some preliminary arrangements had been made to found what became the town of Salem. There had been but few previous settlers on the east bank of the Delaware, but there were some houses to afford temporary shelter to the new arrivals, and a treaty was promptly concluded with the local Indians to eliminate their claim to the land and to secure peace.¹⁰

As might have been anticipated, matters went badly from the first. Fenwick's attempt to assume powers of government were successfully challenged by Sir Edmund Andros, the rightful governor of the region under the Duke of York, and his settlement was placed within the jurisdiction of the authorities at New Castle, across the Delaware. Similarly, Fenwick was deterred from granting any surveys of land for several months because of the tangled condition of his affairs. Not until June, 1676, did he agree with his colonists on a procedure for conveying titles, and for this dubious activity he was soon hauled off to New York to stand trial before Andros' court.¹¹ Meanwhile,

⁸ Stewart, *Major John Fenwick*, reprints relevant documents, including the controversial mortgage, 12-22.

⁹ There is considerable uncertainty about the dates of departure and arrival of the *Griffin*. See Pomfret, *West Jersey*, 71, 75, and Stewart, *Major John Fenwick*, 8-9.

¹⁰ Stewart, *Major John Fenwick*, 10, 12.

¹¹ For Fenwick's agreement with those who had purchased from him see *New Jersey Archives: Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, First

some of his associates, discouraged by the utter confusion that bedeviled the enterprise, left Fenwick's colony for the more tranquil environment on the west bank of the Delaware. Others hung on, impressed by the attractiveness of the Salem region and sustained by the hope that ultimately order might replace chaos. Meanwhile, Byllynge's trustees in August, 1676, appointed three commissioners—Richard Hartshorne, Richard Guy, and James Wasse—to be their advance agents in preparing for the major colonizing effort in West Jersey, instructing them to insist that Fenwick abandon his independent enterprise. It is in the light of these bewildering circumstances that we must view the *Further Account*.

The pamphlet consists of six letters written between November 12, 1675, and June 17, 1676. The author of the first letter, Richard Hartshorne, had no connection with Fenwick's colony.¹² He had settled at Middletown, New Jersey, in 1669. A prominent Quaker, he was one of the three commissioners appointed by Byllynge's trustees in August, 1676. In his letter, written to a "Dear Friend" in England, he made no reference to Fenwick or his colony. Instead, he gave a highly favorable picture of East Jersey, characterizing it as "a rare place for any poor man, or others."

The other four authors were participants in the Fenwick venture and had come over with him in the *Griffin*. All of them were enthusiastic in describing the new country, emphasizing especially the bright economic prospects for potential settlers. But two of them complained bitterly about Fenwick's mishandling of affairs and revealed that they, and others, had left Salem because of their unhappiness with conditions there.

The earliest letter from Salem was written by Martha Smith to her sister's husband, Richard Craven, of Limehouse, London, on November 22, 1675. Urging her sister and her family to come to America, Martha called it a "brave country." "I have more comfort in one day here, than I had in many dayes in England," she observed, adding that they were "going to set up a good House, for we have not a very good one at present." She advised her sister to "be sure you come with an honest shipmaster, and bring some comfortable things on the ship with you to take by the way. . ." Martha and her husband John, who had been a miller in Roxbury, Nottinghamshire,

Series (vols. I-XLII various places, 1880-1949), I, 225-27. Fenwick's tribulations before Andros' court are detailed in *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, I, 186-204, 235-39.

¹² *Ibid.*, 220n.

in due course acquired a large plantation at Alloways Creek and a 16-acre lot in Salem, where they were joined in 1677 by the Widow Ann Craven whose husband a baker, was evidently deceased.¹³

Esther Huckens, who came with her husband Roger, a Wiltshire clothier, and her elderly mother, was equally enthusiastic. Writing to John Sunison on April 4, 1676, she declared: “. . . here is no want of anything but good people to inhabit; here is liberty for the honest hearted that truly desire to fear the Lord; here is liberty from the cares and bondage of this world, and after one year or two, you may live very well with very little labour. . . .” Young men and women servants, she noted, were in great demand, and could soon “come to great fortune.” Esther added that “we were near two hundred people on board the ship we came in,” including a woman nearly eighty years old, and that only two passengers, who happened to be brothers, were lost on the voyage. Esther and her husband, like the Smiths, fared well in Fenwick’s Colony, taking up a town lot in Salem and 486 acres at Alloways, which after Esther’s death in 1697 passed to her sons.¹⁴

Robert Wade’s letter indicated that all was not well in Salem. A London carpenter who had twice suffered imprisonment for his Quaker beliefs, he had come in the *Griffin* with his two brothers. On April 2, 1676, he wrote to his wife Lydia extolling the lushness of the region but complaining that “had John Fenwick done wisely, we had not been disperst.” Despairing of the Salem venture, Wade in March, 1676, had bought the plantation of the former Swedish Governor Johan Printz at what is presently Chester, Pennsylvania, then known as Upland. There he was soon joined by other erstwhile Fenwick colonists, including Richard Guy and Roger Pederick.¹⁵

¹³ For a brief note on John and Martha Smith, see *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, XXI, 339n. There are additional references to them, and to Richard Craven and Widow Anne Craven in *ibid.*, 541-2, 548, 549, 554, 568, 569, 571. A general source of information on the early settlers of Salem is Thomas Shourds, *History and Genealogy of Fenwick’s Colony* (Bridgeton, 1867).

¹⁴ *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, XXI, 541, 542, 554, 555, 563, 626, 627, 635, 638; *ibid.*, XXIII, 243.

¹⁵ The best accounts of Robert and Lydia Wade are in *The 250th Anniversary of the First Arrival of William Penn in Pennsylvania* (Chester, Pennsylvania, 1934), 16-22, 89-92 and John Hill Martin, *Chester, Delaware County in Pennsylvania . . .* (Philadelphia, 1877), 24-5. Richard Guy was one of the most prominent figures in early West Jersey. After falling out with Fenwick he settled briefly at Upland, then served as one of the three commissioners named by Byllynge’s trustees to plan the settlement of Burlington and subsequently played a leading role in Salem. See Pomfret, *West Jersey*, 77-8, 103, 125; *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, XXI, 543, 554, 556, 561, 562, 564; *ibid.*, XXIII, 198. William Hancock and his wife, Isabella, had come over with Fenwick and

In a second letter to Lydia, June 17, 1676, Wade reported that Fenwick was "now about to lay out some land for those that have purchased of him, now he sees he cannot bring us to subscribe to him, for his aim was altogether for his own exaltation, and not the public good." Despite these protestations, Wade is listed among the subscribers to the agreement between Fenwick and the "first purchasers," dated June 25, 1676, and he did, in fact, have land surveyed for himself at Alloways later in the year.¹⁶ However, he continued to reside at Upland, where he was joined by his wife, and eventually disposed of his Salem holdings.¹⁷

Roger Pederick, who wrote on June 14, 1676, to his wife in England, was a London lighterman. Praising the "plentiful country," he urged his wife to join him but echoed Wade's accusations against John Fenwick and reported that he was staying with Wade at Upland and intended to buy part of his plantation. How long he remained at Upland is unclear, but ultimately he returned to Salem with his wife Rebecca, to take up a plantation—called Pederick's Neck—at the mouth of Oldman's Creek.¹⁸

Despite the frustrations and contentions that are apparent from the letters of Wade and Pederick, the general tone of the missives was one of optimism. The land was good, relations with the Indians were peaceful, there were bright opportunities for men of all conditions, and there was liberty. None of the writers succumbed to despair or returned to England.

How did the pamphlet come to be printed and why was it titled a *Further Account*? Obviously, it was intended as a promotional tract, but it is equally apparent that it was not designed to promote Fenwick's colony. Undoubtedly the letters were collected and printed

evidently composed their differences with him and remained in Salem. *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, XXI, 541, 542, 554, 555, 560 and Stewart, *Major John Fenwick*, 65.

¹⁶ *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, I, 227.

¹⁷ *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, XXI, 549, 577, 582. In this letter Wade refers to John Meadock (Maddox)—". . . I hope now thou art satisfied by John Meadock that I could not write to thee before." Maddox, a London Chandler, had been one of the original investors in Fenwick's enterprise, but he does not appear to have emigrated to Salem until 1678. *Ibid.*, 340-41n.

¹⁸ Pederick (Pedrick) was certainly at Upland and in 1678-9 owned land at what is now Marcus Hook. See *The Record of the Court at Upland . . . 1676 to 1681* (*Publications of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, VII, Philadelphia, 1860), 103-04, 110, 132, 135. Sometime after 1679 he evidently returned to West Jersey and settled at Pederick's Neck, where he died in 1692. *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, XXI, 562, 571; *ibid.*, XXIII, 358.

by Byllynge's trustees to stimulate interest in their colonizing venture. The attacks on Fenwick, as well as the alluring descriptions of the country, would serve such a purpose.

The use of the word *Further* in the title would imply some previous publication related to West Jersey, and such was indeed the case. In July, 1676, the trustees had published *The Description of the Province of West Jersey in America*, a one-page broadside, characterizing their domain as a "Terrestrial Canaan" and advising prospective settlers that they could arrange to participate in the enterprise by communicating with the trustees' agent, Thomas Rudyard in Lombard Street, London.¹⁹ The *Further Account* was intended to give additional credence to the glowing claims made in the *Description*. The effect of the *Further Account* on those who read it when it first appeared in November, 1676, can only be surmised. But it must have been a favorable one, and it may well have encouraged many who were to constitute the main body of settlers soon to emigrate in 1677 to found Burlington and bring to realization the vision of Byllynge, Penn, and their Quaker associates.

As for Fenwick and his colony, both can be labelled successful failures. The tempestuous Major was never able to achieve his ambition of heading an autonomous colony, neither was he to obtain any financial gain from his enterprise. Ultimately, however, in March, 1683, his tangled affairs were unsnarled through the agency of William Penn, who had acquired the Eldridge-Warner interests as well as Fenwick's interest in Salem. Fenwick and those who had accepted titles from him were allowed to retain their landholdings. And, with becoming liberality, Penn granted Fenwick the privilege of holding "Courte Leets and Baron" in Salem. Fenwick died nine months later, naming his "esteemed friend" Penn as one of his executors and the guardian of his grandchildren. Meanwhile Salem, despite its vicissitudes, had become a distinctive community, the first English settlement in West Jersey.²⁰

¹⁹ The *Description*, together with background documents, is printed and described in Fulmer Mood, "English Publicity Broadside for West New Jersey, 1675-6," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, LIV (1936), 1-11.

²⁰ Pomfret, *West Jersey*, 84-5.